24: Métraux--95 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131, 197

"TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Tupinamba. -- This name is applied here to all the Indians speaking a Tupí-Guaraní dialect, who in the 16th century were masters of the Brazilian shore from the mouth of the Amazon River to Cananéa, in the south of the State of São Paulo (map 1, No. 1; see Volume 1, map 7). Though linguistically and culturally closely related, these Indians were divided into a great many tribes that waged merciless war against one another. Most of these groups were given different names by the Portuguese and French colonists, but the term Tupinamba was applied to the tribes of such widely separated regions as Rio de Janeiro, Bahía, and Maranhão. Because these are the best-known tribes, we shall, for convenience, apply to all of them the term Tupinamba; we shall, however, carefully distinguish each subdivision when defining its geographical position."

24: Métraux--95 [2] E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131, 161

"Coastal tribes.--From north to south we have:
Tupinamba.--Occupying, along with small infiltrations of Teremembé (Handbook, vol. 1, p. 573), the whole coast between the Parnahyba (Parnaíba) and the Pará Rivers at the end of the 16th century (lat. 1° -4° S., long. 42° -48° W.). Approximately 12,000 lived on the Island of Maranhão in 27 villages. In three other districts, Tapuytapera, Comma, and Caité, there were about 35 villages, with a total population of approximately 27,000. There were also numerous villages along the Pindaré, Mearim, and Itapecurú Rivers. On the Pará River their last villages were far upstream, near the Jacundá and Pacajá Rivers."

24: Métraux--95-96 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131, 161, 175

"Potiguara (Potivara, Cannibals, Cannibaliers).--A large tribe on the coast between the Parnahyba (Parnaíba) and Paraiba (Parahyba) Rivers. On the mainland, they reached the Serra de Copaóba and the Serra da Ibiapaba. (Lat. 5° -8° S., long. 36° -38° W.)

At the end of the 16th century, the Potiguara were expelled from the region of the Parahyba by the Portuguese allied to the Tabajara, but many villages of Ceará accepted the Portuguese rule. Cruelly treated by Pero Coelho in 1603, they banded with the Dutch and waged war against the Portuguese until 1654. At that time, the survivors of the tribe who had not fled into the bush were placed in missions by the Jesuits. The Potiguara, in spite of their former alliance with the French and the Dutch, became loyal allies of the Portuguese, whom they accompanied in many [96] expeditions. They were rewarded by grants of lands. Their names disappear in the 18th century."

24: Métraux--96 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba-1-2
116, 101, 131

"Caeté (Caité). --On the Atlantic shore between the Paraiba and the São Francisco Rivers (lat. 8° -11° S., long. 36° W.).

Tupinamba. --On the Atlantic shore from the São Francisco River to Camamú, in the south (lat. 11° -15° S., long. 37° -39° W.).

Tupinikin (Tupiniguin, Margaya, Tuaya). --Occupying only a narrow strip of the coast from Camamú to the São Mateus (Cricaré) River, perhaps reaching Espírito Santo in the south (lat. 16° -21° S., long. 39° -40° W.).

Timimino (Tomomyno). --In the south of the State of Espírito Santo and on the lower course and islands of the Paraiba River (lat. 22° S., long. 41° W.). The Timimino were constantly at war with the Tupinamba of Rio de Janeiro.

Tupinamba (Tamoyo). --Masters of the coast from Cabo de São Tomé to the Bay of Angra dos Reis and even perhaps to Cairoçú Point (lat. 23° -24° S., long. 42° -45° W.). Their inland limits are unknown, but it is likely that they had villages on the upper Parahyba River.

Ararape. --This name is given by Cardim to the Tupinamba of the hinterland of Rio de Janeiro.

Tupinakin (Tupiniguin, Tupí, Tabayara). --These southern neighbors and bitter enemies of the Tupinamba of Rio de Janeiro were the early inhabitants of the modern State of São Paulo. They were on the coast from Angra dos Reis to Cananéa. They had villages on

the Serra Paranapiacaba and in the vast region between the modern city of São Paulo and the Tieté River. (Lat. 24° -26° S., long. 45° -48° W.). Some groups probably lived near long. 50° W."

24: Métraux--96 [2] E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131

"Inland tribes. --The following tribes lived in the sertão, i.e., the region inland from the Brazilian coast:

The name Tobayara is without any doubt a derogatory term meaning enemy. Because it was given by many Tupí tribes to their hostile neighbors, and because different tribes appear in the literature under the same name, there is much confusion. Tobayara has been applied to: (1) the Tupí-speaking Indians east of the Mearim River, State of Maranhão; (2) the Indians of the Serra da Ibiapaba; (3) the Tupí-speaking Indians living west of the Potiguara tribe; (4) the Tupí Indians of the Pernambuco region; (5) the first Tupí invaders of Bahía; (6) Indians in the State of Espírito Santo; (7) the Tupinakin of the State of São Paulo. All seven of these Indian groups lived inland and were called Tobayara by the Tupinamba of the coast. Because most of these Tobayara are also known under other names, we shall restrict Tobayara to the Tupí-speaking Indians of Maranhão (lat. 4° S., long. 42° W.)."

24: Métraux--96-97 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131, 161, 175

"Tabayara (Tobajara, Miari engũare, Miariogois.--Their native territory was the Serra Grande of Ceará (Serra da Ibiapaba), where they [97] extended to Camocim. Attacked by Pedro Coelho at the beginning of the 17th century, the inhabitants of 70 of their villages migrated to the region of Maranhão. They settled on the upper Mearim River, where they were known to the French as 'Indians of the Mearim' (Miariogois). The emigrants disappeared as a result of their wars against the French and the 'Tapuya' and of smallpox epidemics. In 1637, the Tabayara allied themselves to the Dutch to wage war against the Portuguese of Maranhão. Their Christianization was undertaken about 1656, but was soon interrupted by a rebellion which lasted until 1673. Then again the Jesuits established missions among them. Their name appears in official documents until 1720."

24: Métraux--97 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 131

"Tupina (Tobayara, Tupiguae).--Scattered in the woods from north of the São Francisco River to the Camamú River in the south (lat. 11° -15° S., long. 37° -42° W.). Their eastern neighbors were the Caeté, the Tupinamba, and the Tupinikin.

Amoipira.--A detached branch of the Tupinamba, living in the hinterland of Bahía on the left side of the São Francisco River (lat. 7° -14° S., long. 39° -43° W.).

Tupinamba tribes that are mentioned in the literature but cannot be localized exactly are: The Viatan, formerly living in the region of Pernambuco but exterminated by the Potiguara and the Portuguese; the Apigapigtanga; the Muriapigtanga in the vicinity of the Tupina; the Guaracaio or Itati, enemies of the Tupinikin; the Araboyara, and the Rariguora, whose names only are known."

24: Métraux--97-98 E4 [illegible]
116, 101, 174

"The various descriptions of the Tupinambá culture, though concerned with Indians as widely apart as those of the Maranhão region and of Rio de Janeiro, harmonize in the smallest details. Such uniformity among groups scattered over an enormous area suggests a comparatively recent separation. This view is fully supported by historical traditions and events that occurred after European colonization. The Tupí tribes seem to have dispersed from a common center at a relatively recent date. Their migrations ended only in the second half of the 16th century. The earliest inhabitants of the Brazilian coast from the Amazon River to the Rio de la Plata were a great many tribes unimportantly called 'Tapuya' by the Tupinambá and the Portuguese. At the time of the discovery of Brazil they had been pushed into the woods but still remained near the coast waging war against the Tupinambá invaders, whose intention was no secret: they had not but time to exterminate or assimilate the former masters of the coastal region. Many Tapuya had remained in possession of the shore, forming ethnic islands among the Tupí-speaking tribes (Handbook, vol. I, pp. 111-114, map 1, No. 18, map 7). The Botocudo [illegible] along the coast of Maranhão. The Waitaka of [illegible] Espírito Santo and the Tremembé [illegible] of São Paulo are listed among the Coastal Indians by our sources. Tupinambá traditions held that the non-Tupí-speaking Quiriguez were the first inhabitants of Bahia and that the Aenaguig preceded the Tupinambá in their habitat. The Maracá of the hinterland of Bahia were an enclave among Tupinambá tribes."

24: Métraux--98 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 167, 175

"The only invasions historically recorded are those which took place in the regions of Bahía, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará. The first migration of the Tupinamba (in a wider sense) to the coast is that of the Tupina (known also as Tobayara). They drove the 'Tapuya' from the seashore, but later were forced to relinquish their conquests to the Tupinamba proper and settled in the hinterland. The branch of the Tupinamba that had been warring against the 'Tapuya' did not reach the coast in time and remained on the São Francisco River, where they were known as Amoipira. The Tupinikin of Porto Seguro migrated from the north and may have been the southern wing of the same Tupinamba invasion.

The region of Maranhão was settled in the second half of the 16th century by Tupinamba from Pernambuco, where they had been defeated and driven back by the Portuguese colonists."

24: Métraux--98 [2] E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 175, 177, 668, 792

"Several typical messianic outbursts took place in the second part of the 16th century when the various Tupinamba tribes were forced to yield ground to the Portuguese and were being either wholly outrooted or enclaved. Here, as elsewhere in the New World, these crises were prompted by shamans or prophets who announced the return of the mythical ages and the disappearance of the white scourge. Following a deeply engrained tradition among the Tupí tribes, these prophets exhorted them to depart for the 'land-of-immortality' where the Culture hero had retired after his earthly adventure. In 1605, a party of Tupinamba led by a prophet, whom they worshiped as a deity, left the region of Pernambuco to invade the territory of Maranhão, which then was held by the French. The invaders were defeated by the Portiguara and the French at the Serra da Ibiapaba. Earlier, a group of Potiguara also set out on a journey to look for the Earthly Paradise, at the prompting of a shaman who pretended to be a resurrected ancestor."

24: Métraux--98 [3] E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 167, 175, 668

"About 1540, several thousands of Tupinamba left the coast of Brazil in quest of the 'land-of-immortality-and-perpetual-rest' and, in 1549, arrived at Chachapoyas in Perú. As they mentioned having passed through a region where gold was abundant, their reports induced the Spaniards to organize several expeditions to discover El Dorado."

24: Métraux--98-99 E4 (no date) 1948 Tupinamba
116, 101, 161, 167, 175

"The Tupinambarana, discovered by Acuña (1891) on the Amazonian island that bears their name, were also Tupinamba of Pernambuco who had deserted their home country to escape Portuguese tyranny. They traveled up the Amazon River, thence up the Madeira River, finally coming in contact with Spanish settlements in eastern Bolivia. Vexed by the Spanish colonists, they returned down the Madeira River to its mouth [99] and settled the island of Tupinambarana. In 1690 they seem to have been on the decline, for the Guayarise had moved into their territory."

"SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.--The Tupinamba drew a large part of their subsistence from farming. Manioc, especially the poisonous variety, was their staple; second in importance was maize, five varieties of which were cultivated, one of them being particularly useful to travelers because it remained tender for a long period.

Other crops listed in early sources are: Cara (Dioscorea sp.), mangara (Xanthosoma mafaffa), taiá (taioba, Xanthosoma sp.),[1] sweet potatoes, lima beans, kidney beans,

1. There is, however, apparently some confusion between mangara (Xanthosoma mafaffa) and taioba.

pumpkins (Cucurbita moschata), peanuts, pineapples, and pepper. Bananas were grown on a large scale soon after the discovery of Brazil. Sugarcane and sorghum (sorghum vulgare) were also eagerly adopted from the first White colonists. Several trees, such as cashews and papayas, may have been cultivated in the fields and near the huts.

The Tupinamba grew several nonfood plants: gourds, calabash trees, tobacco, cotton, urucú, and probably genipa.

The Tupinamba cleared farm land in the forests near their villages, felling the trees with stone axes and burning them a few months later. The ashes served as fertilizer.

Women did all planting and harvesting. At the beginning of the dry season, they set out manioc cuttings and sliced tubers, and planted maize and beans in holes made with pointed sticks. They did no other work except some occasional weeding. They allowed bean vines to climb on charred tree trunks but sometimes added sticks as auxiliary props. To increase the cotton yield, they thinned the trees twice a year. Only the women who had planted peanuts might harvest them, a task which entailed special ceremonies.

Collecting wild foods.--The Tupinamba supplemented their diet with many wild fruits and nuts, such as jucara, mangaba (Hancornia speciosa), cashew (Anacardium occidentale), sapucaia (Lecythis ollaria), araça orguave (Psidium variabile), mocujes (Couma rigida), araticús (Rollinia exalbida), hoyriti (Diplothemium maritimum), jaboticaba (Myrciaria cauliflora), acajá (Spondias Purpurea), pindo palm (Orbignya speciosa), and aricuri (Cocos Coronata), etc. The Tupinamba discovered the watery, edible roots of the imbú tree (Spondias tuberosa) by the sound made when striking the ground with a stick. Like the Chaco Indians, they ate the fruits and roots of caraguatá (Bromelia sp.).

The Tupinamba were fond of the iças, or tanajuras ant, with a fat abdomen, which they roasted and ate. Women lured these ants from [100] their recesses with magic spells. They also collected hundreds of guara (Eudocimus ruber) eggs and roasted them on babracots in order to keep them as a food reserve. These tribes eagerly sought honey, not only for its food value but because the wax was important in their industries. They gathered quantities of oysters (Ostrea rhizaphorae), which occur abundantly along the coast where

they cling to the roots of mangrove trees. Many people relied even more on sea food than on game. Whole villages went to the seashore during certain months to gather oysters, which they ate or preserved by smoking them on babracots. Many of the sambaquís (shell mounds) of the Atlantic Coast (see vol. 1, p. 401) are formed of Tupinamba kitchen refuse.

Hunting. -- The chase was a major masculine occupation; Indians wishing to eulogize their country declared that it abounded in game--deer, wild pigs, monkeys, agouti, armadillos, forest hens, pigeons, etc. But recorded hunting methods are neither numerous nor elaborate, and collective hunting is mentioned only in connection with certain ratlike rodents, which were surrounded by a party of men and forced into a previously dug ditch, where they were clubbed to death. Most hunting was carried on by individuals or by small groups of men.

The hunting weapons were bows and arrows. Long bows were generally made of hard black wood--pao d'arco (Tecoma impetiginosa), ayri palm (Astroearyum ayri)--or of jacaranda or sapucaia. The front part was convex, the string side flat. The stave was sometimes partially covered with a basketry sheath and trimmed with feathers. The bowstring was of cotton or tucum fiber (Astrocaryum campestre), sometimes painted green or red. The arrows had four main types of head: (1) a lanceolate bamboo (taquara) blade with sharp edges for killing large animals; (2) a simple tapering piece of hard wood, which was barbed for most arrows; (3) a head like the last but tipped with a bone splinter, a fish bone, or a spur of a sting ray that formed a barb; (4) a wooden knob to stun birds and

monkeys. Fishing arrows will be mentioned later.

Arrow shafts were made of straight reeds (Gynerium sagittatum) without knobs. The feathering was of the 'East Brazilian,' or tangential type: Two feathers with their barbs cut off along one side were laid spirally against the shaft and fixed with cotton thread at their extremities. The terminal nock seems to have been reinforced with a wooden plug.

The Tupinamba quickly learned to train the dogs, which they received from Europeans soon after the Discovery, to hunt game, especially agouti. They beat jaguars from the bush with packs of dogs.

Caimans, which were eaten with relish, were first shot with arrows and then killed with clubs. Small animals, such as lizards, were caught almost exclusively by children.

Blinds, traps, and snares. -- Large blinds for watching and shooting birds were built in treetops. [101]

Jaguars and tapirs were caught in concealed pit falls dug across their main paths. A more elaborate jaguar trap consisted of an enclosure of strong poles. In entering it, the animal stepped on a contrivance that caused a heavy log to fall and crush him. Jaguars also were captured by means of spring snares. A noose attached to a bent pole--the spring--was laid open on the animal's path. If the jaguar stepped near it, his weight caused a trigger to fall which allowed the pole to spring upright and pulled the noose up around one of his paws. The jaguar was then shot with arrows, whereupon apologies were made to its carcass lest it take revenge on its murderers. Small traps, snares, and nets

were employed to catch small mammals and birds. Parrots were lassoed with a noose on the end of a pole.

Fishing. -- Living by the ocean and on numerous rivers along the Brazilian coast, the Tupinamba had access to large supplies of sea food. During certain times of the year they lived almost exclusively on fish.. After the rainy season, the Tupinamba of Maranhão left their villages for several weeks to camp (fig. 6, bottom) along the shore near shallow lagoons that swarmed with fish. Enormous quantities of parati fish (Mugil brasiliensis) were also caught in August while swimming upstream to spawn. This month was, therefore, a propitious time for war expeditions, the rivers yielding a reliable supply of food. Shoals of fish were driven into empty canoes by striking the water with sticks. Fish, if numerous, were also dipped out with sieves and gourds, especially at night when attracted by torchlight. Men armed with fish nets formed a barrier against which fish were driven by striking the water. Rivers and coves were often closed with weirs made of branches or with dams of stones. Fishermen standing on the dam scooped up the fish with dip nets. Funnel-shaped baskets were placed in running water at narrow passages where the fish would be forced to enter them and be caught. The Tupinamba were skillful at shooting fish either with arrows tipped with several hardwood prongs or with harpoon arrows. They also killed fish by poisoning calm waters with the juices of several creepers, such as timbó (Dahlstedtia pinnata) and the tingui (Tephrosia toxicaria). Native hooks, which disappeared rapidly after European contact, were made of thorns; fishlines, of tucumã (Bactris

setosa) fibers. The Tupinamba were said to be such good swimmers that they could even dive and catch fish with their hands.

Domestication. --Pets, numerous in any village, were mainly birds and a few such animals as wild pigs, agouti, monkeys, and even armadillos and caimans. Certain birds, such as ducks, a kind of turkey, and pigeons, may actually have been domesticated. These ducks, however, were not eaten lest their flesh cause a person to become slow. Tame parrots were taught to speak and became an important article of trade with Europeans, but also had a certain economic value in native culture, for they were [102] plucked every year, and their feathers were made into ornaments. The Tupinamba changed the natural colors of the feathers of green parrots by 'tapirage.' By rubbing with the blood of a frog (Rana tinctoria?) the sores left by plucking the birds, they caused the new feathers to grow yellow or red. These Indians eagerly received domesticated fowls brought to them by Europeans and unquestionably aided their diffusion in eastern South America. They never ate these fowls, but plucked them, especially the white ones, as they did native birds. The feathers were dyed in a decoction of Brazil wood (Caesalpinia echinata). When the Tupinamba received their first dogs from the Portuguese, they called them 'jaguars.' They grew so fond of them that the women carried the puppies like babies. The Tupinamba also kept European pigs, but did not care for their flesh.

Food preparation. --Poisonous manioc required lengthy preparation before consumption. The tubers were peeled with shells and grated on rough-surfaced stones or on special

graters, i.e., boards in which stone chips or fishbones were imbedded at close intervals. The poisonous juice was extracted by squeezing the manioc in a long basketry tube (tipití). Afterward, the pulp was sifted and made into flour ('hard flour') by constant stirring while it roasted in a large pottery platter. For wafers (beijú), the mass simply was spread in a more or less thick layer on the same utensil.

Another kind of flour ('water flour') was made from tubers which had been soaked in running water for many days until they began to decay. They were then crushed by hand, strained in the tipití, and passed through a sieve. The pulp was baked as before. A flour called carimã was obtained from tubers that were rotted, soaked in water, smoked on a babracot, pounded in a wooden mortar, and carefully sifted. The famous war flour was a combination of 'water flour' and carimã baked for a long time until dried and well roasted This flour, which would keep for more than a year, was carried by travelers and warriors in waterproof satchels plaited of palm leaves.

Aypi, or sweet manioc, could be eaten directly after boiling or roasting, but was cultivated mainly for brewing mead. It was also made into various kinds of flour. The juice of both species of manioc, if left in the sun for a while, deposited its starch, which was baked and eaten. Other tubers, such as sweet potatoes, cará, mangara, and taiá, required a less elaborate treatment, being either boiled or roasted. Maize, mainly consumed in the form of flour, was also roasted or boiled. Peanuts were broiled and roasted. The name 'mingao' designated any mush made of manioc or other flour. Mangara and

taiá leaves were eaten as greens.

Meat and fish were roasted or boiled. The broth was often mixed with manioc flour. Small fish, wrapped in leaves, were cooked under [103] ashes. Any surplus of game or fish was dried and smoked for about 24 hours on a huge babracot, a rectangular four-legged grill or platform made of sticks, under which a slow fire burned. Another method for preserving meat and fish was to pound it into a sort of pemmican or flour.

Condiments comprised mainly several species of pepper and occasionally a grass called nhamby (coentro do sertão, Eryngium foetidum.). Salt was obtained by evaporating sea water in ditches dug near the shore or by boiling it in large pots. It was also made by boiling lye made of palm-wood ashes. Salt and ground pepper were generally mixed, and every morsel of food was dipped in this powder before being eaten.

The Tupinamba ate in silence, all squatting on the ground around a big dish, except the head of the extended family, who lay in his hammock. They were expert at throwing into their mouths manioc flour, which accompanied every dish. Many persons washed before and after every meal.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tupinamba villages consisted of from 4 to 8 huge communal houses built around a square plaza, where the social and religious life of the community centered (fig. 6, top).

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116, 105

Houses varied in length from about 50 to 500 feet (15 to 150 m.), the average being about 250 to 300 feet (75 to 90m.), and in width from 30 to 50 feet (9 to 15 m.). The height was about 12 feet (3.5m). Thirty families, that is, more than 100 people, could live in a dwelling; some houses even had as many as 200 occupants.

Houses were constructed on a rectangular ground plan. The roof was arched or vaulted, apparently descending to the ground, thus also forming the side walls--hence the frequent comparison in the ancient literature to overturned boats. The structure was thatched with leaves of pindo palm, patiaba, or capara (Geonoma sp.) artfully sewn or woven together so as to be entirely waterproof. There was a low door at each end and one or sometimes two on the side. In the interior, the quarters of each family were marked off by two wall posts. The family hammocks were suspended from additional posts. Possessions, such as calabashes, pots, weapons, and provisions, were stored in the rafters or on small platforms. Each family kept a fire burning day and night in its compartment. The center of the hut was left free as a communal passageway. The head of the extended family, his relatives, and slaves were accommodated in the middle or in some other privileged part of the long house. Hammocks, carved benches, and pottery of all sizes and shapes comprised the usual household equipment.

Villages were located on hilltops, where the air was not too stifling. Those exposed to enemy attacks were fortified with a double stockade (fig. 6, top), having embrasures for archers. The access to the village was defended with pitfalls and caltrops.

The Tupinamba shifted their villages when the house thatching began [104--contains illustrations.] [105] to rot or when the soil of their cultivated clearings was exhausted. They did not remain in one place more than 4 or 5 years. A new village was generally built near the old one and retained the same name.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

In daily life men and women were entirely naked, except that adult men, especially old men, wore a penis sheath of leaves. Young men contented themselves with a ligature round the prepuce.

Feather ornaments.--In contrast to this lack of dress, ornaments were numerous and showy. On their heads men wore high diadems made of the tails of parrots or other bright birds or bonnets of small feathers fastened in the knots of a cotton net. The feather fabric was so compact that it suggested velvet. Some of these bonnets fell down in the back like long, narrow capes (fig. 7, left). The most spectacular feather orna-[106]ments were long, wide cloaks composed entirely of red feathers of the guara (Guara rubra). Necklaces, bracelets, and anklets were also made of bright feathers. Many feather ornaments, especially cloaks, have found their way to European museums. The best feathered specimens were collected by the Dutch in their early Brazilian possessions, and are now in the National Museum of Copenhagen. For festive occasions or [107] for war, men sus-

pended on their buttocks an ornament of ostrich plumes in the 'form of a large round ball to which feathers were attached' (figs. 8, top; 9, left).

The love for feathers was so great that men and even women glued them to their heads with wax or sprinkled chopped feathers all over their bodies, which they had previously coated with gum or honey. Often they substitued [sic] particles of red or yellow wood for feathers. They also pasted with wax on their temples patches of toucan skin covered with yellow feathers. Feathers, after use, were carefully collected, cleaned, and stored in bamboo tubes sealed with wax.

Necklaces and garters. -- Chiefs and important men had necklaces of round or square shell (Strombus pugilis) beads so long--some were 30 feet (9 m.) in length--that they had to be coiled a great many times round their necks. Others had strings of black wooden beads (Astrocaryum ayri). Warriors displayed necklaces strung with the teeth--sometimes as many as 2,000 to 3,000--of their victims. Women used similar necklaces, but ordinarily wore them wound around their arms. Certain women's bracelets are described as a careful assemblage of small pieces of shell imbricated like fish scales. Belts of shell beads are also mentioned in the literature. A most precious male heirloom was a crescentic pendant 6 inches to 1 foot (15 to 30 cm.) long, consisting of well-polished bone and shell plates worn suspended round the neck by a cotton thread.

Men and women wore one or two broad cotton garters under the knee, men trimming theirs with feathers. In the region of Bahía, these [108] garters were bound tightly

around little girl's legs to make the calves bulge in later life.

Hairdressing. --Neither sex tolerated any hair on the body. They either pulled it out with their fingers, or shaved it with a bamboo splinter or a quartz knife. With the same instrument men shaved their foreheads back to the level of the ears. Women generally allowed their hair to hang loose down their backs, but, when at work, they tied it up over the head in a knot or divided it into one or two bundles wrapped with a cotton fillet. Combs were made from a fruit with long spikes. The only cosmetic was oil extracted from several fruits, generally those of palm trees (uucuúba, Myristica sebifera). The natives washed their hair with a root or the skins of the Sapindus divaricatus fruit, which makes suds when soaked in water and squeezed between the fingers.

Labrets. -- When a Tupinamba boy was 5 or 6 years old, his lower lip was pierced, and henceforth he wore in the hole either a plain wooden plug or a conical bone stick or a shell. Later in life he substituted a green or white stone (beryl, amazonite, chrysoprase, chalcedony, quartz, or crystal) shaped like a T or a large button. A few men, generally chiefs or medicine men, perforated their cheeks for similar ornaments, some wearing as many as seven (fig. 8).

Ear ornaments. -- Women inserted in their ear lobes a shell cylinder long enough to reach their shoulders or even their breasts. Men wore thin bone sticks, similar to bone labrets, in their ears. Some men also wore small bone or wooden sticks through the wings of the nose.

Tattooing. -- Both sexes were tattooed. Charcoal or certain plant juices were rubbed into wounds made with a rodent's tooth or a shell. A man's body was covered with capricious designs, which were extended each time he killed a man in war or sacrificed a prisoner. Judging from a contemporary drawing, such tattooing marks formed regular geometrical patterns, not unlike designs on pottery. Women were tattooed only at puberty.

Painting. -- On every important occasion, such as a drinking bout, a funeral, or the slaughtering of a prisoner, men and women painted their bodies. The favorite pigments were black, made of genipa, and red, made of urucú. Black and red paint, alone or alternating, covered large surfaces of the body, especially the lower limbs. Men and women entrusted themselves to skillful artists, generally women, who traced on their persons artistic and capricious patterns consisting of checkers, spirals, waves, and other elements similar to those painted on pottery. Blue and yellow, though less common, were used on the face in combination with the two other pigments.

TRANSPORTATION

Carrying devices. -- Heavy loads, such as crops, were carried on the back in elongated baskets that were open on the top and outer side. These were suspended from the forehead by a tumpline. [109]

Children were carried straddling the hip, and supported by a sling manufactured like

a small hammock.

Boats. -- The Tupinamba had three types of watercraft: (1) Dugouts, (2) bark canoes, (3) rafts. Dugouts were hollowed out of huge logs by the laborious process of burning and scraping the charred wood away. The Tupinamba of Bahía could finish a canoe in a few days by using the ubiragara tree (Ficus doliaria or Cavanillesia arborea), which has a soft inside. Large dugouts were manned by 30 to 60 men.

To build a bark canoe, they erected a platform around a suitable tree, peeled the bark off in one large piece, and heated it to bend it 'in front and behind, but first lashed it together with wood so that it did not stretch.' This craft, sometimes 40 feet (12 m.) long, held from 25 to 30 persons. Like the dugouts, these canoes were used for raids along the coast.

The Tupinamba paddled their canoes standing up. The blades were lanceolate in shape, the handles without cross bars or knobs. The Caeté navigated the São Francisco River, and even along the coast as far as Bahía, on huge rafts or balsas made of reed bundles tied up with creepers and connected with transverse sticks. Such rafts could easily transport 10 to 12 Indians.

Fishermen sat on small rafts (piperi), made of four or five thick round pieces of light wood bound together with creepers, and propelled them with a flat stick.

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MANUFACTURES

Miscellaneous tools. -- Trees were felled with stone axes. Ax heads were hafted with a withy bent double around their butts and held fast with bast. Stone chisels, similarly hafted, served for carving. Rodent teeth and wild pig tusks, 'bound between two sticks,' served for boring. Shells or bamboo splinters were employed as knives. They polished bows with the rough leaves of mbaiba (Cecropia adenopus).

Basketry. -- Basketry included sieves, fire fans, containers of different types, and perhaps also fish traps. Temporary baskets were made of plaited palm leaves. Those intended for longer service were manufactured of creepers (Serjania or Paullinia) split into thin strips, which were twilled, yielding geometrical patterns when the strips were black and white.

Spinning and weaving. --Cotton threads were spun with a spindle--a stick with a flat, circular wooden whorl. Women rolled the spindle along the thigh to set it in motion and then dropped it. Ropes were twisted of cotton and other fibers; or were sometimes plaited for ceremonial use.

The Tupinamba knew only the simplest technique of twined weaving, which was used for the fabric of the hammocks. The warp strands were wrapped horizontally around two vertical posts and twined together with double wefts. Some fabrics were woven so tightly as to appear to be true woven cloth. [110]

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Pottery. -- Tupinamba pottery was highly praised by early voyagers, but the few extant specimens do not show unusual technical or artistic skill. Bowls, dishes, and vases had simple forms: round, oval, and even square (fig. 10). They were often painted on the inside with red and black linear motifs on a white background and were also glazed with resin (for instance, the resin of the icica, Protium brasiliense). The most conspicuous pots were huge jars, with a capacity of about 14 gallons (50 liters), for storing beer. These and cooking pots often were decorated with thumbnail impressions made in the wet clay, an embellishment typical [111] of many Tupí tribes. Pottery was baked in a shallow pit covered with fuel. The best pot makers were the old women. Tradition had it that a pot which was not baked by the person who modeled it would surely crack.

Fire making. -- Fire was generated by a drill and activated by a fire fan. Torches were sticks of ibiraba wood, which burned steadily once the end fibers had been unraveled.

Weapons. --See Hunting (p. 100).

Calabashes. -- Halved gourds served as dishes and bowls. The interior was generally smeared with genipa and the exterior with a yellow varnish. Small containers or mortars were made of the shell of the sapucaia fruits.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

From existing documents, we can only surmise the type of social organization prevailing among the Tupinamba. Like many Guiana Indians, they lived in large communal houses whose occupants were related either by blood or by marriage and were probably the members of a patrilineal extended family. A man's brother's daughter was regarded as his daughter, but his sister's daughter was his potential wife. The children of a woman of the tribe by a captive father were regarded as members of the enemy group and were consequently eaten by their mother's relatives. The children of a tribesman were always full-fledged members of the community irrespective of the mother's status.

Marriage. -- The preferred marriages were between cross-cousins and between a girl and her mother's brother, or in case there were none, the mother's nearest male relative. The maternal uncle carefully supervised the conduct of his future bride if he did not wish to take advantage of his marital claim, and had to be consulted if his niece wanted to marry another man. If the husband were not the girl's mother's brother, he became his father-in-law's servant. He had to assist him in all economic activities, such as house building, opening clearings, hunting, fishing, and fuel gathering. He also had to accompany him on the warpath, carry his burdens, and supply him with food and shelter. To gain the favor of his in-laws, the bridegroom would assume the responsibility of revenging the death of any of his affinal relatives and offer a prisoner he might have taken to one of

his brothers-in-law, who would kill the captive, thereby increasing his prestige by a change of his name. A hard fate it was indeed for those who had few relatives and were, therefore, compelled to live with their in-laws. 'Marriage,' says Thevet (1575), 'costs the man a great deal of work and pain.' Suitors, according to Soares de Souza (1851, p. 311), worked 2 or 3 years before they acquired their wives; and after this they had to settle with their in-laws and remain in their service.

Marriage, in its initial phase at least, seems to have been strictly matrilocal, but the general tendency for any man was to liberate himself [112] from his subordinate position by settling with his wife in his parents' long house. Chiefs could do away with matrilocalism and take their wives home; a man related to a powerful family could buy his liberty with presents and favors bestowed on his in-laws; and any man might also gain his freedom by marrying his daughter to his wife's brother.

A widow generally married her husband's older brother or one of his close relatives who had avenged her husband's death, if it had occurred in battle, or who had taken a prisoner to 'renew' the deceased spouse's grave and wear his ornaments, in case of a natural death. (See p. 120.) The second husband was expected to be as valiant as the first.

Once redeemed from his bondage, a man could take other wives and often did at the request of a wife eager to share her tasks with them. The first wife always retained a preeminent position, however, and enjoyed the right to hang her hammock next to that of her husband. Each wife of a polygynous man 'had her separate lodging in the huts, her own

fire and root plantation, and that one with whom he (the husband) cohabited for the time being, gave him his food, and thus he went the round of them' (Staden, 1928, p. 146).

A man could also have wives scattered in different villages. Polygynous wives were given to surprisingly little jealousy and quarreling, though they often included women of other villages who had been captured in war.

A young man unable to find a marriageable girl or lacking a mother or sister to cook for him did not hesitate to take some aging woman as first wife, whom he would discard when he could obtain a more suitable mate. Warriors of renown and famous medicine men had no difficulty in acquiring new wives, who were readily given to them by their fathers or brothers. Some chiefs had as many as 30 wives. Polygyny was thus a mark of prestige and a source of wealth. Matrimonial ties were easily broken by either spouse, sometimes for reasons that appear to us trifling. The divorced woman, if young, would remarry. An adulteress was not severely punished unless her husband was a great chief; but if a captive or without a family to revenge her, she might be killed. The guilty partner was unmolested, lest his kin start a feud.

Prestige. -- A man with several daughters attained considerable authority and prestige because he had under him both his sons-in-law and his daughters' suitors. Men who had changed names often, having killed several enemies in battle or sacrificed captives on the village plaza, acquired great prestige and influence in the community.

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Slaves. -- Though, with few exceptions, all prisoners, male or female, were eventually eaten, they were kept long enough in the community to be considered a special class within Tupinamba society. Possession of a prisoner was an envied privilege. One who enjoyed it did not hesitate to make the greatest sacrifices to keep his charge happy and in good health. A man would starve rather than deprive his captive of food, and usually [113] gave him a daughter or sister as a wife. Lacking a close female relative, the captor would ask a friend to give him a woman for the purpose, a request sure to be granted, for conjugal ties with a prisoner were regarded as honorable. In certain cases the prisoner was married to the widow of a warrior killed before his capture and was allotted the deceased's hammock and ornaments. The relations between a prisoner and his new wife were identical with those of any other married couple and were supposed to last forever, the woman being just as attached to her temporary husband as in normal wedlock. These prisoners' wives, it is said, had the responsibility of preventing their husbands from running away, but the statement is to be accepted with reserve. Some authors report cases of women who grew so fond of their husbands that they escaped with them.

Female captives were often taken as secondary wives or concubines by their masters, but sooner or later they were ritually sacrificed unless they belonged to an influential man who had become fond of them. If their masters did not care for them, they were allowed to have sexual relations with whomever they wished. The skulls of female captives who died a natural death were crushed.

Prisoners were kindly treated and regarded their masters, whose quarters they shared, as relatives. The Tupinamba were heartbroken to see Europeans mistreat the prisoners they had sold to them. They would come from far away to visit them, and would hide and protect any of their former slaves who escaped.

Prisoners had fields for their maintenance and were free to hunt or fish. They were welcome at the feasts and drinking bouts. It seems, however, that, like a son-in-law or a brother-in-law, they were obliged to work for their masters. They were, moreover, reminded of their servile condition by a few restrictions and humiliations. They could not make a present or work for anybody without their masters' consent. They were forbidden to enter a hut through the thatched wall, though other people might do so. They must, under pain of death, avoid amorous relations with a married woman. If they fell sick, they were immediately sacrificed. Further, at any time they could be the target for the most violent insults and abuses. A woman who refused to accept willingly the sacrifice of children she had by a prisoner, was severly [sic] censured, and her family shared her disrepute.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Each long house had a headman who was under the village chief. Some villaged had two or even three or four chiefs, if we may rely on Claude d'Abbeville's census of the

Maranhão region. Some chiefs extended their power over a whole district and commanded a great many villages. Rank was determined by prowess (capture and ceremonial execution of prisoners), magic power, oratorical gifts, and wealth. [114]

Soares de Souza writes:

> The chief must be a man of courage. He has to belong to a large family and to be well liked by its members so that they are willing to help cultivate his plantations, but even when he opens a clearing with the assistance of relatives, he is the first to put his hand to the task. [Soares de Souza, 1851, p. 325.]

The authority of chiefs, undisputed in war time, was subordinated to the sanction of a council in peace.

This council was composed of the elder men and famous warriors, who met on the village plaza for any important decision. The chief spoke first, and then each councilor in turn gave his opinion, while the others, according to their rank, sat in their hammocks or squatted on the ground smoking huge cigarettes.

Each morning the headman of a hut assigned everybody a task and delivered a speech encouraging the people to go to work and follow the good example of their ancestors.

Chieftainship was inherited by the son or the brother of the deceased chief, if he had

the required qualifications.

Social control and justice.--Social control over the individual's behavior was very strong. Great stress was put on the smoothness of manners and gentleness, any outburst of anger being looked on with abhorrence. People shunned the company of temperamental persons. If an Indian felt incapable of controlling his feelings, he warned those present, who immediately tried to calm him down. When a serious quarrel broke out in a village, the individuals involved went to the extreme of burning their own houses, challenging their adversaries to do likewise. Under the influence of anger, these Indians were prone to commit suicide by eating soil.

Blood revenge was a sacred duty. When a homicide might involve two allied groups in a feud, the relatives of the murderer often did not hesitate to kill him, lest the peace be disturbed.

The cooperation of neighbors or relatives in any joint enterprise was rewarded by a drinking party organized by the beneficiaries. A hunter or a fishermen [sic], upon returning home, shared his catch first with the headman of the long house and then with the members of his household. The Tupinambas' generosity and willingness to share anything they had are often stressed by the old sources. Anybody could, without asking for permission, use utensils belonging to some housemate.

ETIQUETTE

Guests were greeted with tears. As soon as a visitor entered a hut he was surrounded by the women of the house, who showed their sympathy by friendly gestures and started to cry, intermingling their laments with chants in which they alluded to the dead members of the community and to other mournful subjects. The guest had to pretend that he was [115] shedding tears. When the crying had ceased, the male hosts, who had affected indifference, turned toward the newcomer and welcomed him. Any member of the community who had been absent, even for a short time, was received with weeping when he returned. Chiefs were greeted with tears even if they had only walked to their nearby fields.

The mournful manifestations by which a returning traveler was greeted were actually the reenactment of a funeral rite with which the absent person or the guest was associated.

LIFE CYCLE: BIRTH, PUBERTY, DEATH

Birth. -- When a woman felt the first pangs of childbirth, she squatted on a flat piece of wood that leaned against the wall, or directly on the ground. Women neighbors surrounded her but gave little assistance. If the delivery was difficult, the husband pressed on her stomach. In case of a male infant, the father cut the umbilicus with his teeth or between

two stones and took him up from the ground in token of recognition. The mother or some close female relative performed the operation on female babies. The mother's brother took the baby girl in his arms, thereby claiming her as his future wife. After the baby was washed, its father or the midwife flattened its nose with the thumb, an operation repeated later during infancy by the mother.

The father took to his hammock and lay in it for several days, receiving the visits of his friends, who expressed their sympathy for his plight. The couvade lasted until the dry navel cord fell off. During this period the father had to refrain from eating meat, fish, and salt. Even after the confinement, he was not allowed to do any hard work lest he cause some harm to the infant. For a baby boy, claws of ferocious animals, a small bow and arrow, and a bundle of grass symbolizing his future enemies were attached to his little hammock, which was suspended between two war clubs. A little girl was given capivara teeth to make her teeth hard, a gourd, and cotton garters.

In the postnatal period, the father performed several magic rites to make the child successful during his life. Thus, he would have a male baby's sling caught in a trap as if it were some game. He would shoot at the sling with the miniature bow and arrows or throw a fishing net over it. When the navel cord was dry, he sliced it into small pieces and tied each to one of the main house posts so that the child would become the progenitor of a numerous family. If the father were absent or dead, the same rites were performed by the mother's brother or some close maternal relative. Food taboos were imposed on

the mother during the same period.

Naming. --The choice of a name, a serious matter, was discussed at a special meeting. Generally, the child received the name of an ancestor, [116] a custom that is probably connected with the Tupinamba belief that children were reincarnated ancestors.

Childhood. --Boys were gradually weaned at the age of 4 or 5 years (some authors say 6 to 7) and girls a year later. From early infancy children were given solid food in the form of maize, which the mother masticated into a pap and passed from her mouth into the baby's. Children, male and female, remained in close contact with their mothers until the age of 8. Little boys, meanwhile, were encouraged to practice archery and to train themselves for war and hunting. Early voyagers report unanimously that children, though never scolded, were well disciplined. Little is known about early education. To stop their babies from crying, mothers put cotton, feathers, or a piece of wood on their heads. To accelerate a child's growth, they rubbed it with their hands. Every morning one of the headmen went around the village scratching the legs of the children to make them obedient. Naughty children were threatened with the man with the scratcher.

At the age of 4 or 5, young boys had their lower lips pierced for a labret. The operation was a festive occasion attended by the members of the community and inhabitants of other friendly villages. The child was expected not to flinch during the operation, thus showing his fortitude. Thereafter, boys tied up their prepuce with a cotton thread.

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Girls' puberty. -- A girl underwent a series of severe ordeals at her first menstruation. With her head carefully shaven, she had to stand on a whetstone while geometric designs were cut on her back with a sharp rodent tooth. Ashes of a wild gourd rubbed in the wounds left indelible tattoo marks. This scarification had to be endured without crying. Then the girl lay in her hammock, concealed from sight, and observed a strict fast for 3 days. She must not touch the ground with her feet nor leave the hammock until her second menstruation. Meanwhile, if she had to go outside the hut, she was carried on her mother's shoulders. At her second menstruation, she received additional tattoo marks on the breasts, stomach, and buttocks. Henceforward, she might work but was not permitted to leave the house or to speak. Only after the third period was she free to go to the fields and resume her normal occupations.

Adulthood. -- After puberty, girls could indulge freely in sexual practices until marriage. Any girl who lost her virginity had to break a string she wore around her waist and arms after her first menstruation. Premarital chastity was expected of a girl betrothed to a chief and brought up in his home until coming of age. Chiefs' infant brides, however, might stay at home until coming of age. No young man could marry or even have sexual relations, according to Cardim (1939), before he had killed one or two prisoners, for the sons of a man who had not shed the blood of his enemies were thought to be cowardly and lazy. This restriction on a young man's sexual life could be obviated, perhaps long before he had [117] been to war, if his father or uncle gave him a prisoner

to sacrifice. Men married at about the age of 25.

After 40 a man was an 'elder' and did no hard work. He spoke in council. Very old men were respected and treated courteously.

Death. -- A sick person who seemed doomed to death was ignored and abandoned. But at the moment of his last breath his relatives surrounded him and displayed the most spectacular forms of grief. They threw themselves on his body or on the ground and burst into tears. Ritual laments and shedding of tears were restricted to women, especially old women, and occasionally old men. The head of the extended family or the women of the long house praised the deceased by stressing his courage at war and his hunting or fishing skill. These funeral orations were interrupted by sighs and cries.

In general, the Tupinamba were in such haste to bury their dead that often the dying man was still alive when placed in the earth (fig. 11, top). The grave was dug by the deceased's nearest male relatives. The corpse was wrapped in a hammock or tied by cords in a foetal position and squeezed into a big beer jar that was covered with a clay bowl. Some food was placed in the grave and a fire was built in its vicinity to keep bad spirits away. The head of a family was buried in the long house under the quarters he had occupied during life, but there were many exceptions to this rule, according to the age and preferences of the dead man. If the corpse were buried in the open, a small hut was erected upon the grave. Urn burial, though common, was not always practiced. When

buried directly in the earth, the body was protected against direct contact with the soil by lining the grave walls with sticks.

Female mourners cut their hair, whereas men let theirs grow on their shaven foreheads. Both sexes painted their bodies black with genipa. Mourning women wailed for many days after a burial and went at times to the grave to ask the whereabouts of the departed soul. Other women of the community who visited them assisted in their ritual laments. The mourning period lasted 1 to 6 months and was strictly observed by the parents, siblings, children, and wife of the deceased. No widow could remarry before her hair had reached the level of her eyes. Before resuming normal life, each mourner entertained his family and friends at a drinking bout with much singing and dancing, at which time widows and widowers cut their hair and painted themselves black.

After death the souls of gallant warriors killed in battle or eaten by their enemies went to a beautiful land in the west where they enjoyed the company of the mythical 'grandfather' and of their dead ancestors. They lived there happily and made merry forever. Access to this paradise was forbidden to cowards and to women, except the wives of renowned warriors. [118--contains illustrations] [119]

WAR AND CANNIBALISM

Religious and social values of high importance clustered around war and the closely connected practice of cannibalism. Prestige and political power were derived mainly from the ritual slaughtering of prisoners, which was so far reaching in its influence that it even affected sexual life. The Tupinamba's excessive interest in ritual cannibalism contributed toward keeping the different tribes and even local communities in a constant state of warfare and was one of the chief causes of their ready subjection by Europeans. Their mutual hatred of one another, born of a desire to avenge the insult of cannibalism, was so great that the Tupinamba groups always willingly marched with the White invaders against their local rivals. Their bellicose disposition and craving for human flesh loom large in many aspects of their culture, such as education, oratory, poetry, and religion. The rites and festivities that marked the execution of a prisoner and the consumption of his body were joyful events which provided these Indians with the opportunity for merry-making, esthetic displays, and other emotional outlets.

The Tupinamba went to war only with the certainty of victory, which they derived from the interpretation of dreams and from ritualistic performances such as dancing and reciting charms. When marching toward the enemy, they paid special attention to any omen and to dreams. The slightest bad omen was sufficient to stop the expedition: once a party

of warriors that had almost taken a village retreated because of a few words uttered by a parrot.

Besides arrows and bows, Tupinamba weapons included a hardwood club with a shape unique in South America. It consisted of two parts: a long, rounded handle and a flattened, round, or oval blade with sharp edges. The only defensive weapon was a shield of tapir hide. Warriors donned their best feather ornaments and painted their bodies. Men of importance were followed by their wives, who carried hammocks and food for them. The advancing army was accompanied by musical instruments. Whenever possible, they used canoes to avoid long marches. The chief always headed the column, which was disposed in one line. Scouts reconnoitered the country. At night the warriors camped near a river and built small huts in a row along a path.

The proper time to assault the enemy village was chosen cautiously. As a rule, they stormed it at night or at dawn, when least expected. When prevented by a stockade from entering a village immediately, they built another palisade of thorny bushes around the village and started a siege. One tactic was to set fire to the enemy houses with incendiary arrows. Sometimes they slowly moved their fence close to the opposite wall so that they could fight at close range.

The Tupinamba fought with courage and determination but without much order as they did not obey any command during the battle. They [120] opened the attack by shooting arrows (fig. 12, left), hopping about with great agility from one spot to another to prevent

the enemy from aiming or shooting at any definite individual. Amid ferocious howls, they rushed against their opponents to strike them with their clubs, trying to take prisoners, one of the main purposes of the war. Because it was difficult to seize an enemy without the assistance of several persons, it was an established rule that the prisoner belonged to the first man to touch him. When a man was disarmed, the victor touched him on the shoulder and said, 'You are my prisoner.' Thereafter, the man was his slave. Those who remained in possession of the battlefield would roast the corpses and bring back the heads and the sexual organs of the dead.

The long set of cannibalistic rites and practices began immediately after the capture of a prisoner. On the way home, the victorious party exhibited their captives in friendly villages, where they were subjected to 'gross insults and vituperation.' The latter retaliated by expressing their contempt for their victors and their pride at being eaten as befitted the brave.

Before entering their masters' village, the prisoners were dressed as Tupinamba, with foreheads shaven, feathers glued to their bodies, and a decoration of feather ornaments. They were taken to the graves of the recently deceased of the community and compelled to 'renew,' that is, clean them. Later they received the hammocks, ornaments, and weapons of the dead, which had to be used before they could be reappropriated by the heirs. The reason for this custom was that touching the belongings of a dead relative was

fraught with danger, unless they were first defiled by a captive.

When the prisoners were taken into the village, women flocked around them, snatched them from the hands of the men, and accompanied them, celebrating their capture with songs, dances (fig. 12, right), and references to the day of their execution. They forced the prisoners to dance in front of the hut where the sacred rattles were kept.

After this hostile reception, the prisoners' condition changed for the better. Their victors often gave them to a son or some other relative, who had the privilege of slaughtering them and acquiring new names--one of the greatest distinctions which a Tupinamba coveted. The prisoners were also traded for feathers or other ornaments. In many cases, the only outward sign of the prisoner's status was a cotton rope tied around his neck, which, according to some sources, was a symbolical necklace strung with as many beads as he had months to live until his execution. The captives were in no way hampered in their movements; they knew perfectly well that there was no place to which they could escape, for their own groups, far from welcoming them, would even have killed any member who attempted to return. On the other hand, to be killed [121--contains illustrations] [122] ceremonially and then eaten was the fate for which any brave longed once he had lost his liberty. Nothing would have reminded a prisoner of his impending death if, on certain occasions, he had not been exhibited in public and again exposed to jeers and provocations. At drinking bouts, portions of his body were allotted beforehand to the carousers, each of whom--in the victim's presence--learned the part he was to receive at the ceremonial execution.

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The village council chose the date of execution and sent invitations to friendly communities. Preparations for the sacrifice started a long time in advance. Certain accessories, like the plaited rope with which the victim was fastened, required a long time to make. Great quantities of beer also had to be brewed for the occasion.

The prisoner feigned indifference toward these signs to his threatening fate. In certain villages he was tied up, but then he indulged freely in all sorts of mischief to revenge his death. The rites observed in these cases started after the arrival of the guests and lasted 3 to 5 days.

On the first day the cord was bleached and artfully knotted, the prisoner was painted black, green eggshells were pasted on his face, and red feathers were glued on his body. The executioners also decorated their own persons with feathers and paint. Old women spent the first night in the hut of the captive singing songs depicting his fate. On the second day they made a bonfire in the middle of the plaza, and men and women danced around the flames while the prisoner pelted them with anything he could reach. The only ceremony of the third day was a dance accompanied by trumpets. The day before the execution the prisoner was given a chance to escape but was immediately pursued. The person who overtook and overpowered him in a wrestling combat adopted a new name, as did the ceremonial executioner. The ritual rope was passed round the prisoner's neck, the end being held by a woman. The prisoner was then given fruits or other missiles to

throw at passers-by. Festivities began that night. The prisoner was often requested to dance. Apparently he did so without reluctance and took part in the general rejoicing as if he were merely a guest. He even regarded his position as enviable, for 'it was an honor to die as a great warrior during dancing and drinking.' The prisoner spent the remainder of his last night in a special hut under the surveillance of women, singing a song in which he foretold the ruin of his enemies and proclaimed his pride at dying as a warrior. His only food was a nut that prevented his bleeding too much. The same night the club to be used for the sacrifice received special treatment. It was decorated, like the prisoner himself, with green eggshells glued on the wood, the handle was trimmed with tassels and feathers (figs. 7, right; 9, right) and finally, it was suspended from the roof of a hut, women dancing and singing around it during the entire night (fig. 13, left). [123--contains illustrations] [124]

The following morning the prisoner was dragged to the plaza by some old women amid cries, songs, and music. The rope was taken from his neck, passed round his waist, and held at both ends by two or more men (fig. 13, right). Again he was allowed to give vent to his feelings by throwing fruits or potsherds at his enemies. He was surrounded by women who vied in their insults. Old women, painted black and red, with necklaces of human teeth, darted out of their huts carrying newly painted vases to receive the victim's blood and entrails. A fire was lit and the ceremonial club was shown to the captive. Every man present handled the club for a while, thus acquiring the power to catch a pri-

soner in the future. Then the executioner appeared in full array, painted and covered with a long feather cloak. He was followed by relatives who sang and beat drums. Their bodies, like that of the executioner, were smeared with white ashes. The club was handed to the executioner by a famous old warrior, who performed a few ritual gestures with it. Then the executioner and his victim harangued each other. The executioner derided the prisoner for his imminent death, while the latter foretold the vengeance that his relatives would take and boasted of his past deeds. The captive showed despondency only if his executioner, instead of being an experienced warrior, was merely a young man who had never been on the battlefield. The execution itself was a cruel game. Enough liberty was allowed the prisoner to dodge the blows, and sometimes a club was put in his hands so that he could parry them without being able to strike. When at last he fell down, his skull shattered, everybody shouted and whistled. The position of the body was interpreted as an omen for the executioner. The prisoner's wife shed a few tears over his body and then joined in the cannibalistic banquet.

Old women rushed to drink the warm blood, and children were invited to dip their hands in it. Mothers would smear their nipples with blood so that even babies could have a taste of it. The body, cut into quarters, was roasted on a barbecue (fig. 14), and the old women, who were the most eager for human flesh, licked the grease running along the sticks. Some portions, reputed to be delicacies or sacred, such as the fingers or the grease around the liver or heart, were allotted to distinguished guests.

As soon as the executioner had killed the victim, he had to run quickly to his hut, which he entered passing between the string and the stave of a stretched bow. Indoors he continued running to and fro as if escaping from his victim's ghost. Meanwhile his sisters and cousins went through the village proclaiming his new name. On this occasion, the male and female relatives of his generation also had to take new names. The members of the community then rushed into the killer's hut and looted all his goods, while the killer himself stood on wooden pestles, where the eye of his victim was shown to him and rubbed against his wrist. The lips of the dead man were sometimes given to him to wear [125--contains illustrations] [126] as a bracelet. However, his flesh was strictly taboo to the killer. After this the executioner had to recline in a hammock until the hair on his shaved forehead had grown again. During seclusion, he entertained himself by shooting miniature arrows at a wax figure. For 3 days he might not walk but was carried whenever he needed to leave the hut. He also avoided several foods, especially condiments. His return to normal life was celebrated by a big drinking bout, at which the killer tattooed himself by slashing his body in different patterns with an agouti tooth--the more tattooing marks a man could exhibit the higher was his prestige. Even after the feast he was subject to a few more restrictions before he was again a full-fledged member of the community.

The same rites were practiced if, instead of a man, a jaguar had been killed. Later, when the Tupinamba could no longer sacrifice their war prisoners, they would open the

graves of their enemies and break the skulls with the same ceremonies. The heads of dead enemies were pinned to the ends of the stockade posts.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Dances. -- Ceremonial dances are described as a monotonous but energetic stamping on the ground by a group of men standing in a circle, with their bodies bent slightly downward and their hands hanging by their sides or laid on their buttocks. The dancers remained on the same spot, except for occasional steps forward and backward and for rotation. Sometimes they shook their heads and made rhythmical gestures with their arms. Dancers were accompanied by songs, the time being marked by shaking rattles or jingling dry fruits that the dancers wore tied round their legs. The rhythm was also given by beating drums or by pounding the ground with a wooden tube. As a rule, men danced separately from women, whose movements are said to have been more violent and exaggerated than those of the other sex. Profane dances were distinguished by a greater freedom of motion and by their orgiastic character. Men and women lost control of themselves, and their dances consisted of wild jumping and running to and fro.

Songs. -- Tupinamba songs have received much praise. Singers started softly and then gradually sang louder and louder. Cardim says,

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They keep among themselves differences of voices in their consort: and ordinarily the women sing the treble, the counter and tenor. [Cardim, 1939, p. 155]

The songs were started by a choirmaster who sang a couplet; the refrain was repeated by the whole group. The words of these songs refer to mythical events, especially to wars and the heroic deeds of the ancestors. The numerous and graceful allusions to nature were similes. Good composers enjoyed such prestige that if taken prisoner they were released even by their bitterest enemies. [127]

Musical instruments. --When carousing or expressing strong feelings collectively, the Tupinamba blew trumpets or played flutes. The trumpets were conch shells with a perforated hole, or a wooden or bamboo tube, on one end of which a calabash served to amplify the sound. Flutes were made of bamboo or of the long bones of slain enemies. Drums, made of a piece of wood hollowed by fire, were small. Rattles have been mentioned above. The time of the dances was beaten with a stamping tube, a thick bamboo stick 4 to 5 feet (1.2 to 1.5 m) long that was pounded on the ground. On their feet the dancers wore jingles made of fruit shells of Thevetia ahouai (Métraux, 1928 a, pp. 214-217).

Narcotics. --Smoking was one of the favorite pastimes in daily life as well as on ceremonial occasions. Tobacco leaves were dried in a hut, then wrapped in a leaf to form a huge cylindrical or conical cigarette. Long tubular bamboo pipes were used

exclusively by shamans in magical performances. Stone pipes, found in several points of the Brazilian coast, perhaps belong to another culture anterior to the of the Tupí.

Alcoholic beverages.--All social events were occasions for drinking bouts, at which great quantities of beer were consumed. The preparation of large amounts of fermented beverages for these feasts was a heavy task for the women, and was one reason for the polygyny of chiefs. Liquors were made from different plants: sweet manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa), cashew, Jaboticaba (Myrciaria cauliflora), pineapples, bananas, and also beijú wafers and honey. Manioc beer, the favorite drink, was prepared as follows: The roots, cut into thin slices, were first boiled, then squeezed and partly chewed by young girls. The mass, impregnated with saliva, was mixed with water and heated again over the fire. The liquid was afterward poured into huge jars, half buried in the ground, covered with leaves, and left 2 or 3 days to ferment. A fire was built around the jars to warm the beverage before serving it. Each extended family manufactured its own liquor. When a bout was organized, drinkers went successively to each hut, exhausting the available supply. The women served the liquors in huge calabashes. Old men and guests of honor were served first by the host's closest female relatives. Drinking was always the occasion for riotous merrymaking. Men and women, painted and covered with their more showy ornaments, danced, shouted, whistled, played musical instruments, talked excessively, and brawled. These orgies lasted for 3 or 4 days, during which nobody ate or slept much.

RELIGION

Supernatural beings.--The supernatural powers, by whom the Tupinamba felt themselves surrounded, may be classified into two groups: (1) individualized spirits, generally malevolent, which we may call demons or genii; (2) ghosts. The latter, by far the more numerous, differed from the former in having a much more impersonal nature. [128]

The demon of Thunder, Tupã, a secondary character in the early mythology, had as his main function to go 'from east to west causing thunder, lightning, and rain.' After White contact, this simple demon was promoted to the rank of the Christian God and as such still survives among the Tupí-speaking Mestizos.

The bush was peopled by a number of greatly feared demons, who are still active in the folklore of modern Brazil. The most famous of these were Yurupari, Añañ, and Kurupirá. Yurupari and Añañ were synonyms, employed respectively by the northern and southern Tupinamba. Missionaries and travelers, however, often confused them with ordinary ghosts; they either refer to them rightly as single demons or use these names collectively to designate the whole host of spirits. Just as Tupã was identified with God, Yurupari was equated to the Devil. The Caboclos of Brazil describe him as a goblin, an ogre that haunts the forests and is generally malicious. The same confusion arose about Añañ, who at one time is called a bush spirit and at another, some ghost. Kuru-pirá, scarcely mentioned by the early sources, is the hero of countless tales among the present-

day Tupí. He is depicted as a goblin with upturned feet, figures as the protector of game, and is rather ill-disposed toward mankind. Other spirits, such as Makashera, Uaiupia, Taguaigba, Igpupiára, and Mbae-tate (will-o'-the-wisp), are scarcely alluded to in the literature.

The world as conceived by the Tupinamba was the abode of innumerable ghosts who could be met everywhere, but especially in the woods, in all dark places, and in the neighborhood of graves. These supernatural beings were often harmful: they caused disease, droughts, and defeat. The Tupinamba often complained of being attacked and tormented by them. Some ghosts took the form of awe-inspiring animals, such as black birds, bats, and salamanders. Others, more tenuous, changed colors. These spirits were particularly obnoxious in the dark but could be driven away by the fire kept burning all night in Tupinamba quarters. No Indian would travel after sunset without a torch or a firebrand lest he be harmed by the evil spirits. So great was their fear of these that they even asked White people to settle in their village in order to keep the spirits in check.

Ceremonialism. -- Many details point to cults centering around the supernatural beings described above, who were symbolized by small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended. Small offerings, such as feathers, flowers, or perhaps food, were deposited near them. Spirits were also represented by

calabashes painted with human features. Such figures often appeared in the ceremonies of shamans, who burned tobacco leaves in them and inhaled the smoke to induce trances. Maize kernels were put in the mouths of these sacred effigies, which had movable jaws so as to imitate mastication. The grains thus consecrated were sown in the fields, and were expected to produce a good crop. The rattles (maracas), which were highly sacred [129] objects profusely decorated with paintings and feather tufts, are difficult to differentiate from these idols. There is a single statement that seems to indicate that the Tupinamba also worshiped wax images kept in special huts.

Rattles were the accessories of all ceremonial activities (fig. 15), but seem to have been used only if previously consecrated by a shaman, who attracted a helpful spirit into them. Every year the villages were visited by shamans (called pay) endowed with power to cause all the rattling maracas chosen by them to speak and grow so powerful that they could grant whatever was required of them. All rattles were presented to the shamans, who conferred upon them the 'power of speech' by fumigating them and uttering charms. Then the shamans exhorted the owners of the rattles to go to war and take prisoners to be devoured, for the 'spirits in the rattles craved the flesh of captives.'

These rattles, after the ceremony, became sacred objects taboo to women. They were placed in a sort of temple and received offerings of food when asked to grant a favor. The spirits who had taken their abode in the rattles advised their owners and revealed future events to them. After a victorious expedition, they were thanked for their assistance.

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Shamanism. --The intermediaries between the community and the supernatural world were the shamans. All the chiefs or old men were more or less conversant with magic, but only those who had given some evidence of unusual power were regarded as real medicine men. Their reputation depended mainly on the accuracy of their prophecies and the success of their cures. Those who had achieved fame were known as karaí or pay-wasu, 'great medicine men.' When a man was about to obtain great magical power, he would shun people, go into seclusion, fast, and then return to announce that he had come in close touch with the spirits. The shamans were rain makers, diviners, and, above all, healers. They had at their service a familiar spirit, sometimes in animal shape, who would follow them and even perform menial tasks for them. The medicine men relied on these spirits when requested to accomplish some difficult task, for instance, to gather rain clouds. They also consulted them as to the issue of some important enterprise or about distant events. The shaman sought interviews with the spirits after 9 days of continence, shutting himself up in a secluded cabin and drinking beer prepared by young virgins. Questions were asked the spirits by the community, but the 'whistled' answers were given to the shamans. Some medicine men traveled to the land of the spirits, where they had long talks with the dead.

Shamans as a rule were men, but a few women could prophesy after they had put themselves into a trance, and some old women, said to be possessed by spirits, practiced medicine.

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A shaman's breath was loaded with magic power that was greatly reinforced with tobacco smoke. Often the shaman was asked to transfer part [130] of his 'virtue' to the body of some client or disciple. Persons favored in that way started to tremble. General confessions of transgressions were imposed by shamans on women in circumstances that are not explained. Ritual lustrations also were performed by medicine men.

The shamans, once recognized as such, enjoyed considerable prestige, being addressed with respect even by chiefs. Wherever they traveled they were welcomed with fasts and rejoicing. They inspired such fear that nobody dared gainsay them or refuse their requests. Some shamans rose to political power, exercising unchallenged authority in their communities or even in large districts.

Medicine. -- To cure sick people, shamans resorted to the classic methods of sucking and blowing tobacco smoke over the body of the patient. They extracted objects considered the cause of the ailment. Female shamans removed the disease by sucking a thread which had been put in contact with the patient's body. Medicinal virtues were attributed to genipa paint, which was used freely for many diseases. Headaches and fevers were treated by scarification. Wounded people were stretched on a barbecue, under which a slow fire was lighted, and roasted until their wounds dried. A great many medicinal herbs are enumerated in early descriptions of [131] the Brazilian coast, but it is stated only rarely whether the plants actually were used by the Indians for medical purposes, or whether they had been adopted by early European colonists, who were extremely eager to discover miracu-

lous virtues in the Brazilian flora.

Revivalism.--In the years that followed Portuguese colonization of Brazil, the Tupinamba were stirred by religious crises that have some analogy with the revivalistic or messianic movements occurring in other parts of the world, especially among some North American tribes. Prophets or messiahs arose among them promising a golden age in which digging sticks would till the soil by themselves and arrows would kill the game without intervention of hunters. The Indians were assured of immortality and eternal youth. The followers of the messiahs gave up their usual activities, dedicated themselves to constant dancing, and even started mass migrations to reach the mythical land of the culture hero. Several of the late Tupinamba migrations were caused by the urge to enter the promised land as soon as possible. The leaders of these religious movements were in many cases deified. Certain traits of their personality suggest that they represent a new type of wonder-worker, who had been influenced both by the early traditions of their tribes and by Christian ideas preached to the Indians by the Catholic missionaries. Similar crises occurred in modern times among the southern Tupí of Paraguay and Brazil. A comparison between the ancient and the modern messianic outbursts shows remarkable similarities.

These beliefs were closely associated with the cosmology. The Tupinamba established a correlation between the eclipses and the end of the world, which marked the beginning of a new era of peace and happiness. Whenever an eclipse occurred, the men chanted a

hymn hailing the mythical 'grandfather,' and the women and children moaned, throwing themselves to the ground in the utmost despair.

MYTHOLOGY

Important fragments of Tupinamba mythology have come down to us through the French friar, André Thevet (who visited Brazil in 1555). The main characters are represented by a set of culture heroes listed under the names of Monan, Maira-monan, Maira-pochy, Mairata, and Sumé, all of which may well be synonyms for a single figure: the Tamoi or Mythical Grandfather. The culture hero, Monan, though an exalted creator, does not rank strictly as a god because he was not worshiped. Even his creative activities are not all-embracing; he made 'the sky, the earth, the birds, and the animals; but neither the sea nor the clouds' nor, apparently, mankind. Closely associated with him was Maira-monan, who is probably the same Monan with the epithet Maira (Europeans were also called Maira). Thevet calls him the 'Transformer' because he was fond of changing [132] things according to his fancies. Maira-monan, described as a great medicine man living in seclusion and fasting, was a benefactor of mankind, on whom he bestowed agriculture. Tradition has it that he changed himself into a child who, when beaten, dropped fruits and tubers. According to another version, he initiated a young girl into the practice of agriculture. As a lawgiver he introduced social organization and imposed severe

taboos, including the prohibition of eating slow-moving animals. For unknown reasons, ungrateful people plotted his death and, after several unsuccessful attempts, burned him on a pyre. The bursting of his head originated Thunder, and the fire of his pyre, Lightning. There is no doubt that Maira-monan and Sumé, who is often mentioned as the originator of agriculture, are the same culture hero. Owing to a vague similarity of name, Sumé was regarded by early missionaries as the fabulous apostle Saint Thomas (S. Tomé), the supposed bringer of Christianity to the Indians long before the discovery of America. Petroglyphs of natural fissures in rocks suggesting footprints were attributed to Saint Thomas and were presented as evidence of his extensive travels.

The twin cycle, so common in South American mythology, is closely connected with the personality of the culture hero, Maira. The main episodes of the myth are as follows: Maira deserts his wife, who is pregnant. She sets out in quest of her lost husband and is guided in her journey by the unborn child. Having been refused one of his requests, the child grows angry and remains silent. The mother is lost and arrives at the house of Sarigue (Opossum, subsequently a man), who sleeps with her and makes her pregnant with a second child. Continuing her search for her husband she is misled to the village of Jaguar (also a man), who kills her and throws the twins on a heap of rubbish. They are saved by a woman, who brings them up. They demonstrate their supernatural origin by growing very rapidly and feeding their foster mother abundant game. Remembering, or learning, that Jaguar and his people killed their mother, they take revenge by luring

them to the sea and changing them into actual beasts of prey. Then they start again in search of their father. Finally, they find him, but he does not want to acknowledge them as his children before a trial of their origin. He orders them to accomplish difficult tasks. They shoot arrows into the sky and each arrow hits the butt of the other, thus forming a long chain. They pass between two constantly clashing and recoiling rocks. The twin begotton by Opossum is crushed to pieces, but his brother undergoes the ordeal successfully and brings him back to life. The same fate befalls Opossum's son when he tries to steal the bait of the demon Añañ, but again Maira's son revives him. After they have gone through these several ordeals, both are recognized by Maira as his children.

There are two versions of the destruction of the world. The first cataclysm which befell the earth was a big fire set by Monan, which he himself[133]put out by flooding the universe. The flood explains the origin of the rivers and of the sea, which is still salty because of the ashes.

Arikut and Tamendonar were brothers. The latter, a peaceful man, was gravely insulted by Arikut, who threw at him the arm of a victim he was devouring. Tamendonar caused a spring to flow so abundantly that the water covered the surface of the earth. Both brothers escaped and repopulated the universe.

In the cosmogony collected by Thevet, a tale has been incorporated which was and is still very popular among South American Indians (Chiriguano, Mataco, Toba, Uro-Chipaya, Indians of Huarochiri). Maíra-pochy (the bad Maira), a powerful medicine man or more

probably the culture hero himself, appears in the village disguised as an indigent and dirty man. He makes the daughter of the village chief pregnant by giving her a fish to eat. Later, when all the most handsome men of the region vie with one another to be recognized as the father of the child, the baby hands Maíra-pochy a bow and arrows, thus acknowledging him as his father. Maíra-pochy shows his supernatural power by raising miraculous crops. He transforms his relatives-in-law into many different animals.

LORE AND LEARNING

The division of time among the northern Tupinamba was based on the appearance and disappearance of the Pleiades above the horizon. The ripening of cashews was also used for reckoning time. Dates of future events were calculated with knots or beads on a cord.

A complete list of the Tupinamba constellations has been recorded by Claude d'Abbeville. Most of them were named after animals. Eclipses were explained as attempts of a celestial jaguar (a red star) to devour the moon."